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S P E E C H
OF
MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN,

ON RETURN TO ILLINOIS,

AFTER


CAPTURE OF VICKSBURG.

REPORTED BY "MACK," OF THE CINCINNATI COMMERCIAL.

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John A. Logan
Maj. Gen.

C. B. Richardson, Publisher

GENERAL LOGAN AT HOME.

On giving the able and eloquent address of General Logan on the issues of the day, we preface it with the following items furnished by "MACK," who reported the address:

DUQUOIN, ILLINOIS, July 31, 1863.

General John A. Logan, loved commander of the 3d Division of General Grant's conquering army, arrived at his home in Carbondale, Illinois, about a week ago. This is the first leave of absence he has had since he entered the army, and he was among the first to do that. For two years he has been constantly with his command, with the exception of the short time it took him to recover from the dreadful wound he received at Fort Donelson. He has declined many offers of leave tendered him by General Grant before the surrender of Vicksburg, having, as he said, made up his mind not to go home until he could tell his friends that the Mississippi River was open from Cairo to the Gulf.

General Logan's present position with regard to the South is in singular contrast with the course he took in Congress before the rebellion broke out. In politics he has always been a bitter partisan of the Democratic school. Representing an intensely Democratic district in Southern Illinois, before our troubles assumed the character of open war, in which the South became the aggressors, he sided with the South on nearly every sectional question brought before the National Legislature.

He supported every measure of compromise to prevent a dissolution of the Union. Sumpter was attacked, and the first gun fired at the national flag severed the fraternal bonds that had bound Logan to the South. He returned from Congress thoroughly satisfied as to the troubles then ahead of us, and determined to give his cordial support to the loyal and patriotic people of the North against the conspirators who sought to disrupt the Government and make a wreck and ruin of the entire country. But his congressional record had given him a bad name in administrative circles at Washington, and at one time an order was actually issued for his arrest as one who sympathized with the rebellion. He was not long, however, in setting himself right in this matter. By his own exertions he raised the 31st regiment of Illinois volunteers, now commanded by Col. McCook, brother of Maj. Gen. McCook. When he had his men all in camp he applied to the State for arms, but none were to be had. He waited a little longer, but still his requisition could not be filled. Finally he went to New York, and there bought arms for his entire regiment with his own money and notes of promise. I believe the amount has since been refunded to him by the War Department. With his men fully armed and equipped, he was sent to Cairo, where he remained for some time. He participated in the battle of Belmont, under General Grant, and his conduct on that occasion was marked with the same heroism that has characterized it on a dozen bloody fields since. The officers and crews of some of the hospital steamers became panic stricken when they found that our men were retreating, and the commander of the vessel on which Logan's regiment was embarking, evinced a great desire to get away from the fire of rebel muskets. The gallant Colonel of the 31st, aware of the mischief that such fear might lead to, stood on the deck of the boat and swore he would shoot any man who attempted to move the planks from the shore until every man of his regiment was on board.

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At Fort Donelson he commanded a brigade in the thickest of the fight, though, as yet, but a colonel in rank. He was twice wounded during the engagement, and many doubts as to the possibility of his recovery were entertained. His memorable words to his men, "Fear dishonor but not death," will long be remembered in connection with the siege of Donelson. By his heroic conduct on the 16th of February, 1862, he justly earned his promotion to a Brigadier Generalship, and was commissioned accordingly shortly afterward.

In general Grant's recent campaign, in Mississippi, Logan and his noble 3d Division won deathless renown. Among the first to cross the Mississippi below Grand Gulf, he took a prominent part in five out of the six battles fought before the investment of Vicksburg. In the rear of Vicksburg he occupied, probably, the most important position along our entire line, forming the center of General McPherson's corps, with the strongest of the rebel forts in front of him—Fort Hill. His part in the assaults on Vicksburg was always well sustained. On the morning of the surrender of Vicksburg his division marched into town, and he was appointed to the command of the post.

His long cherished work—the opening of the Mississippi—accomplished, he obtained leave of absence for twenty days, and is now on a visit to his home in Southern Illinois. But the prospect is that during his stay in Illinois, he will not get much respite from a labor as arduous as active campaigning, if not quite as dangerous. Immediately on his arrival at Cairo, he was met by delegations from all parts of the state, inviting him to address public assemblies on the great questions of the day. Since then, I believe, he has received invitations to speak in Chicago and Cincinnati. He told me to-day that he did n't think he would go to Cincinnati, as his time would not permit it. "But," said he, "I would go if I thought I was needed there to assist you in defeating that Canadian chap. I believe, however, you will beat him by a hundred thousand votes, without the soldiers." He will probably speak in Chicago before he returns to the army.

His speech yesterday, at this place, was attentively listened to by a crowd of about five thousand persons. It was received with great *eclat*. My phonographic report of it will, I am sure, find many readers. A printed report of a speech, however accurate, can not do justice to Logan. There is so much in his manner of saying certain things which it is impossible to express in print, that the speech loses much of its flavor when served up at second-hand in the columns of a newspaper. Short hand can't reproduce gestures, however faithfully it may daguerreotype words and sentences. Logan's style is clear, distinct and enunciative. Every word he utters can be heard in the most remote corner of his audience, and he has the rare faculty of being able to speak three hours to a crowd without wearying a single man or woman in it.

In view of the bravery in battle of the soldiers of Illinois, and of the patriotism of the Union defenders of that State, we exclaim,

"Bear to the prairies of the West
The echoes of our joy,
The prayer that springs in every breast:
'God bless thee, Illinois.'"

S P E E C H

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN,

AT DUQUOIN, ILL., FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1863.

Phonographically reported by "MACK," of the Cincinnati Commercial.

It is with great pleasure that I meet this assembled multitude for the purpose of addressing them, and giving to them my views in reference to the present condition of the country.

I want to remark to you, before proceeding to discuss what I consider the most important question that can be brought before any people for their calm and mature deliberation, that I do not propose to make any political speech. I am not canvassing this part of the country for the purpose of promoting the interests or advancing the welfare of any political organization, whether you call it Democratic, Republican, or anything else. My intention is not either to assist the one or to interfere with or detract from the other. I have, since I have been in the army of the United States—which is now about two years—at all times eschewed politics. I have had nothing to do with partisan organizations on one side or the other [cries of "That's so!"], nor do I propose to have anything to do with them as long as I am a soldier of the United States Government in the field, placed there to oppose the common enemy of our land and nation. [Applause.]

There are many things, however, that we, who are in the field, have a right to speak of to our countrymen and fellow-citizens. There are many things, my friends, that we take an interest in as well as you at home. I suppose we feel as much interest in this country and its internal government as you possibly can, and for that reason I have been induced to discuss some of the questions before the people of this country and State.

THE WAR AND OUR DUTY.

It is not necessary for me to tell this intelligent audience that the war in which we are now engaged is one of great magnitude and importance. It is one, my friends, that will settle the fate of this Government either one way or the other. While it is going on it is clearly and plainly the duty of each and every one of its citizens to reflect in reference to that which is for the greatest and best interest of themselves and the whole people, and to act in such a manner as will be best calculated to promote the general welfare of our country. In order, then, that we should all act properly, that each and every one should act right, and conscientiously do his whole duty toward the country and its people, it is proper that they

should well know the difficulties with which the country is surrounded, that they should well know the rights that attach to them from the organization of our Government, and the manner in which these rights are assailed or attempted to be trampled under foot.

We first find then, a Government with a Constitution sufficient to protect—amply protect—the rights of persons and property, political, civil and religious, of all classes of persons. We find a Government with a Constitution better than has ever been formed by men in any age or country or clime, with privileges, rights and protections that each man is entitled to, in all parts of the Government, clearly defined and distinctly marked out. With this kind of a Government, with this kind of a Constitution, let us ask ourselves what is our duty to that Government? What do we owe to a Government that gives us such rights and privileges, that has such a Constitution, that has such institutions as ours confers upon us and upon all mankind that avail themselves of it? What do we owe to a Government that extends its protecting power over each and every one of us? What do we owe to a Government that protects our rights, our liberties, our reputations, our property, and extends to us all the protection that any man on earth could require? Now, my friends, we have just the kind of Government I have spoken of, or, rather, we had such an one. [A VOICE—“We’ll have it again!”]

LOGAN—“We’ll make a big try.” [Laughter.] What, then, is the duty we owe to that Government? I’ll tell you in a few words. We owe it our first allegiance as American citizens. We owe our first allegiance to that Government paramount to any State, county, section or territory. We owe it our first allegiance as citizens. We are in duty bound to protect that Government under whose ægis we have so long enjoyed peace, prosperity and security. As citizens who have received protection from it, it is our duty to stand by it in all its perils, in all its trials, all its wants, in everything, it makes no matter what it is. It is our duty to see that at no time that Government is destroyed, that at no time the rights and privileges of its citizens are interfered with or molested. [Applause.] I believe no one will dispute this point for a moment. All will admit it. Well, if it be true that we are indebted to this Government that much, clearly, then, there is a duty incumbent upon us, upon all men and women in the land, upon all officers, upon all persons in the Government—and it is that kind of duty that they should certainly perform—it is to execute the trust imposed upon them in good faith, in honesty and candor, according to the laws of the land and the Constitution under which we live. [Applause.] This being the case, then, I will now bring to your attention the point I am driving at. It is this: When a country like this is in war, what is the duty of its citizens? Now, if we owe our first allegiance to that Government, if we are bound to respect its laws and in good faith carry them out, why, then, if that is the nature of our obligation to it, we are bound to prevent, in every way possible, in every manner within our power, any interference with it in any way whatever. We are bound to resist any blow aimed at its vitality. We are bound to go between it and its antagonist, be he whom he may, what power under heaven it may, we are bound to shield it with our strong arms in its hour of danger. [Applause.]

THE "UNHOLY" WAR.

Now, I understand, and expect it is true, that there is a good deal said through this part of the country, in reference to this war that we are engaged in. It is said that it is an unholy war, a fratricidal war, an unrighteous war, an unconstitutional war; that it is all wrong, full of evil, iniquitous; and that, from the President of the United States down to the least private in the ranks, every man is guilty of outrageous, unprovoked, unjustifiable, cold-blooded murder every day. Such things have been said. Now, I want to ask any one this question: You all admit my first proposition, that it is the duty of all citizens, not only to obey but to protect the Government, and to subserve its interests, and see that its laws are executed in good faith. If, then, that is the case, I would ask these gentlemen, who are all the time denouncing the war and abusing those who are engaged in carrying it on, a few simple questions. The first proposition of theirs is that the war is unconstitutional, that it is wrong to be engaged in it, or to prosecute it, or assist in prosecuting it in any way whatever. Let us examine this for a few moments. We had one of the best Governments in the world—one of the best Governments God Almighty ever let the sun of heaven shine upon. We find thirty-four States composing that Government. Each and every one of these States had been received into the Union by the remaining portion of the States, and had become a part and parcel of the Government, under one and the same Constitution, having the same rights and privileges, owing the same allegiance and good faith to the Government, one State that another did. The Government then was a whole. It was not in particles. It was a Government intact. What then was done? And now, I come to tell you how this unholy war, as some tender-hearted brethren please to call it, was brought about. Instead of submitting to the Constitution of the United States, instead of observing its provisions, and acting in good faith toward the people who composed this Government, instead of acting in good faith toward the Government that had extended its protecting hand over them, what did these infernal rascals do there—these Southern brethren, as some individuals in the North, who are piously opposed to the war, call them—what did they do? Why, I'll tell you what they did, but you all know very well without my telling you. They organized one of the foulest, most damnable, hell-born, devil-begotten conspiracies that ever was organized by any set of men on earth against one of the very best Governments that ever existed on the face of God Almighty's green earth. Why was that conspiracy organized? What was the reason for it? What cause had its originators for it? What harm, I ask any honest-minded man in my hearing, what harm had the Government then done these men? Had it trampled their rights under foot? Had it invaded their rights in any way whatever? Had it attempted to interfere with them or to oppress them in the least? Had it stricken them from the roll of honor? Had it taken from them any fame that they were justly entitled to as part and parcel of this Government? Had it sought to destroy them? Had it sought to obliterate their State Governments, or anything of that kind? In what respect, I ask, had the Government of the United States acted

in bad faith toward these people? As a Government it had acted in no respect toward them but what it had toward each and every one else. It had acted in good faith; it had executed its labor in good faith. Even if it had failed to execute its laws in good faith, the Government itself was not responsible. They were individual acts, never officially sanctioned. I say that the Government itself had never interfered with the rights of a single citizen of the United States. Why, then, should these men organize this conspiracy? For what cause was it done? Was it because the Government was a bad one? Was it because they expected to establish a better one? Certainly not. Was it because they expected to have a better Constitution? Certainly not. Why, then, was it? I want any man to tell me—to give me one single, solitary reason for the organization of this accursed conspiracy. Those reasons, that are given as individual reasons, against individuals, are no reasons at all. For, as I said before, the Government can not be held responsible for such acts. It is only responsible for the record it makes officially of itself. How was this conspiracy organized? By whom? It was organized by Jeff. Davis, the most damnable traitor to his country that God Almighty ever let live, or that man ever saw on the face of the earth. It was gotten up by him and his minions, and for what purpose? Not for the purpose of restoring peace and harmony—not for the purpose of assisting and encouraging the Government in its onward march of improvement and perfection—not for the purpose of benefiting his own people—not for the purpose of being of any benefit to any man, woman and child in the South or in the North, but for the reason that certain gentlemen in some parts of the country had got a little too large for their boots, and they proposed, among themselves, to make themselves the great "I Ams" of this continent. But it can't be done, gentlemen, I tell you so now in sincerity—you can't do it—no use of trying. [Applause.] Yes, those men thought if they could not be Presidents and Cabinet officers by election, they would be so by blood and carnage, and in violation of the laws of this land, and of every other land.

The only reason these men have given for this rebellion was because Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. I want to ask any man, I care not who he is, whether Abraham Lincoln was not elected according to the forms of law, and according to the Constitution of the country. Was not he elected by a majority of the people of the United States who were authorized to cast their votes for him? He certainly was. If he was so elected—you all know I opposed him, but, at the same time, I was bound to admit that he was honestly and fairly elected as a citizen of a free Government, and that the people were fairly entitled to their choice—if they elected him, it was my duty to bow to the dictates of the American people as expressed at the ballot-box, and to acquiesce in their will. This was their excuse. They rebelled because a certain man was elected President of the United States. Did they rebel when Jackson was elected? I suppose they had not got quite ready for it. They had not got the thing as well fixed as when old Buchanan allowed them to plunder the Government, and steal all the guns from the arsenals and forts throughout the country. [Applause.]

THE CAUSE OF THE REBELLION.

Now, the election of Mr. Lincoln is the cause, the reason assigned for these people having rebelled against the Government. But we are told at home here, that the President of the United States has violated the Constitution in calling out an army to suppress this rebellion—that he had no right—that it was a violation of law, and a usurpation of power, taking upon himself the exercise of power not conferred upon him. I would like to answer that argument. I will let any gentleman in this or any other country take the argument I make in reply to it, sift it, and see if it is not logical, proper and loyal. Why did Mr. Lincoln call out this army? Do these men, when they talk about the unconstitutionality of calling out the forces of the United States, tell you why they were called out? If so, what do they say? What objection have they to urge to the calling out of an army? None in the world, but that we have no right to fight these men—no right to make war upon ourselves—we can not make war upon our own citizens, hence it is unconstitutional for this army to be called out to suppress this rebellion. I want these gentlemen to tell me this first: I understand that the Constitution of the United States holds each State in the Union to be a part of the Government. The Government is made up of a union of all the States. If so, I would like to know how any man has a right to carve out for himself a portion of these States, a part of this Government, and to claim it for his Government. Was it constitutional for these members of Congress to secede, to go home and declare their States no longer a part of the Union? Was that constitutional? I think it was very unconstitutional. Was it constitutional for them to steal all the forts, arsenals, arms and military accouterments belonging to the United States Government? Was it according to the Constitution of the country for them to organize an armed force, move down to Charlestown and attack Fort Sumter, while it belonged to the United States Government? I think not. Was it constitutional to meet and elect Jeff. Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy? I think not. Who ever heard of two Presidents of the United States? Does the Constitution permit it? I think not. But these people undertook to make two Presidents. They attempted to make Jeff. Davis President of a portion of the United States, after the voice of the people had legally and rightfully chosen Abraham Lincoln. Was that act constitutional? Was it constitutional in them, after they had elected Jeff. Davis, to assemble their armies at Manassas Gap, and to make the Mississippi River bristle with their bayonets and cannons, from one end of that stream to the other? Was it constitutional in them to do all that? I would like some man to tell me. I understand that the Mississippi River is a part of the American Continent—one of the mighty rivers of this country—one that Jefferson himself declared should be free to the commerce of the world. What was that army put there for? Was it put there to fight Great Britain, France, or any foreign power? No; it was put there to fight against the United States Government, to defy its authority and power, and to prevent it from exercising the control which justly belongs to it, over a portion of the United States Government. Was it constitutional for

these gentlemen to blockade the Mississippi River at Columbus, to stop your men of the northwest from taking your produce down to New Orleans and other points? Was that constitutional? I suppose not. Was it constitutional for them to declare Florida no longer a part of the United States' Government? Don't you know that the United States Government paid a large amount of money for the purpose of obtaining the territory of Florida, and was it constitutional for them to swindle the United States Government out of it? Was it constitutional for them to declare the Louisiana Purchase no longer a part of the Government? Was it constitutional for them to declare Texas no longer a part of the Union, after we had settled the question by a bloody war—when we had, too, paid a large amount of money to settle the question. Although you fought with Mexico, and although many of your brave sons lie there now, their bones bleaching beneath the parching suns of Mexico, although that was done, yet these men say we will take the territory thus acquired to ourselves, and they say to you, get ye hence, we know ye not; we care not how much money you have expended on it, we will take it to ourselves. Was that constitutional? I want these apologists for secession, these denouncers of the war, these defamers and slanderers of our country's defenders—the brave soldiers who are now in the field—to tell me whether these acts were constitutional or unconstitutional?

Now, if these acts were unconstitutional, let us examine the other side of the question for a moment. What has been done in opposition to these acts? What have we done? Let me ask any man in this country, what has been done in opposition to these unconstitutional acts? Why, we have declared war, we have raised an army, we have passed a conscription act. The seceders forced us to fight, when we did not want to know how, but these acts of ours are all grave usurpations of a power we never possessed. They are monsters in themselves. Let us see. Here we have Jeff. Davis on one side, with all these acts I have named, and the President of the United States on the other. What has he done? He has called out an army to enforce the laws of the land—that's all—against a party that has not committed a single constitutional act, but whose every act since the inauguration of the war, has been directly and openly at variance, with the Constitution of the United States. Is it not the first lesson you learn in this country, that it is your duty to obey the Constitution and laws of the land? Then, I ask you, what was Abraham Lincoln, as President of the United States, in duty bound to do? Was he to sit quietly by and witness these acts, see them all perpetrated before his face, when he was the Chief Magistrate of our nation, the great conservator of the peace, the great head of the Government, and the one who had the right to execute and administer the laws; was he to sit quietly by, and allow these acts, in violation of the Constitution, in violation of everything that was right; to sit quietly by and say, it will all come right after a while; these people are a little mad because I am elected President, but they will cool off after a while, and then, I guess, I will get their permission to stay here for the next four years. What would you have said to any man who would have permitted these hounds to have gone on in their wicked career of disrupting the Government? What would you have said to Mr. Lincoln, had he said:

"Better let the thing go; it's too late now!" I suppose that in 1832, when General Jackson said to Mr. Calhoun and some other Southern gentlemen, who were about to rebel on account of the tariff, when he told them, by the Eternal God he would hang them if they didn't behave themselves, nobody was mad then. I don't hear that anybody cried out that Jackson was unconstitutional. Calhoun wanted to revolutionize the Government and set up his own authority in its stead, but Jackson told him what he might expect if he kept on much longer, and Mr. Calhoun just quit right there; Jackson made them stop the thing. He told them not to enter into any more conspiracies of the kind, and the country sustained him. [Applause.] Now, let us examine the unconstitutionality of these acts, all of them, as we go along. First, Is it unconstitutional in Mr. Lincoln to call out an army? It is called out in opposition to an army called out by Jeff. Davis, in violation of law, order and good faith, and in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States. If Jeff. Davis violated the Constitution of the United States in calling out his army, I think the converse of the proposition would be sustaining the Constitution. If Jeff. violated the Constitution, Mr. Lincoln did just the opposite to him; so he supported the Constitution. [Applause.] Mr. Lincoln was obeying the Constitution in taking means to make Jeff. Davis obey it. As long as a man acts in such a manner as to require other men to obey the Constitution, he is obeying the Constitution himself. So much then for the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of that portion of it. I believe that we have no history, no history of any government which shows to us that the one in power—the one who is Chief Magistrate, who wielded the government of the nation, has not the right to call out armies and put them in the field to suppress rebellions, put down insurrections, put down mobs, riots and everything of the kind. The very peace of society requires that this power should be placed in the hands of somebody. In civil law the power is extended to the sheriffs of counties, and he has a right to call out the *posse comitatus* to put down mobs and stop disturbances. Why? For the peace, order and good government of society; in order to prevent bloodshed and keep peace in the county, that every man shall obey the law, and be recognized as a constitution-loving man, who yields a willing obedience to the laws of the land. In this particular, it was the same thing. Insurrection against the Government, rebellion against the laws and the Constitution, an attempt to destroy the Government, an attempt to make a perfect wreck of it; it was the duty of the President—all citizens of the United States owing allegiance to the Government, as they do—to call upon them to assist in suppressing this rebellion, this insurrection against the Government of the United States. [Applause.]

As soon as this thing was discovered, as soon as it was seen that we had this war in the land, many men who had opposed Mr. Lincoln and his election came forward to assist in re-establishing the Government under his administration. It made no difference to them what were Mr. Lincoln's political antecedents. They were willing to see the Government restored and re-established under anybody's administration, because they were citizens of the Government and owed it their allegiance, because they were patriots and loved their country. They loved peace,

and were willing to assist in restoring the Government to peace. [Applause.]

But it is said that a great many things have been done not only by the Administration but by the army that are so outrageous that the people can't stand it any longer. Well, let us see. I want to contrast the views of some gentlemen at the North with the views of their Southern brethren. Jeff. Davis says—so does Alexander H. Stephens—that the usurpations of President Lincoln are such that the idea of reconstructing the Government is perfectly ridiculous. My God! ain't it astonishing that Jeff. Davis should talk about any man being a usurper? I hear that Jeff. says the Northern people are usurping powers that don't belong to them, and that never have been guaranteed to them. These are the kind of speeches they make to the people of the South. But Jeff. doesn't turn round to the people and say to them, "I forgot to say to you that we were exercising a little too much power ourselves; but we'll not mind that just now—we'll talk of that hereafter." So it seems to be forgotten in this country when speeches are made about the usurpations of power. They forget that Jeff. and his crowd are doing anything wrong. Oh, no! They are honest and clever people, they all belong to the church, all say their prayers. But we are a set of wicked devils, usurping power that don't belong to us, and all the time violating the Constitution that these pious people in the South respect so much and have such a yearning for. We are a set of Northern sinners, and there is no salvation for us; but down South they never sin against God, man, or the Constitution of the United States. That's what we are told here in the North, right here in the State of Illinois. [Laughter.]

THE CONSCRIPTION BILL.

It is said that the very idea of forcing a man into the army under the Conscription Law is infamous. Let us see. What is a Conscription Law? It is a law enacted by the legislative power of the country for the protection of the Government, for enrolling soldiers to defend the Government against all its foes, foreign or domestic. Do those people who talk of the infamous, the odious Conscription Bill, not know that there is not a Government on top of earth but passes a Conscription Law whenever they desire to raise troops for any emergency whatsoever? Some Governments raise troops without Conscription Laws. They just issue proclamations and tell the people to march up and be soldiers without further notice. This is the way they do in the land of Jeff. [Laughter.] He issued an order the other day without any act of Congress. They have to go forward and deliver themselves up or they will be arrested and shot as deserters. But that is all right, of course, because Jeff. does it. He has a right to do that. But if the President of the United States or the Congress of the United States happen to pass a Conscription Law when we have not troops enough to put down this rebellion, it is an outrage. I want to say this: If I was President of the United States, and had the power, and if Jeff. Davis or any other Jeff. was fighting against the Government to destroy it, whether I had a Conscription Law or not, I would have soldiers. [Applause.] And every

man I found trying to excite sedition or to produce dissatisfaction in the army that was fighting for the Government, I would hang on the first tree I came to. [Applause.] That's what I'd do with them.

Whenever gentlemen talk in this country about obeying law, and about the violation of the Constitution—whenever gentlemen in this or any country are denouncing men for the exercise of power that doesn't belong to them, why, in God's name, let them try and obey the laws themselves before they talk to others about it. Look at New York. Here is a Conscription Law attempted to be enforced for the purpose of raising soldiers to fight for the old flag that was carried by Washington on many a bloody field; that our fathers and brothers have waved and shaken in the face of the enemy until they trembled with fear because of the power that was known to be in that old banner; to fight by the side of veterans who have for over two years marched to the music of the Union; to fight for old Yankee Doodle, as we always did. But men were told that this law must be opposed, that mobs must be raised to prevent its enforcement; and these men who invite the mob spirit in New York are clamorous for the Constitution and laws. They want the letter of the Constitution adhered to. They want the laws all administered properly. In New York, gentlemen will get up and make speeches and talk about usurpation in office and the unjust exercise of power and all this, to do what? To make people law abiding, Constitution loving citizens? No; but to excite the populace to every deed of violence and atrocity; to make them resist the law openly; to make them willfully murder their fellow-citizens in the streets; to make them commit acts of robbery, murder and arson. Was not that the result of these teachings in New York? What did they do for the people whom they excited thus? Did they prevent any of them from being enrolled? No; but they caused the streets of New York to flow with the blood of their fellow-citizens. And so it will always be when such riots are attempted, because the Government has the power to put them down, and will put them down, and the gentlemen who try to excite mobs will be the first to suffer. They will be the first to run out of the country to get rid of the law, too. [Applause.]

There are a great many other objections to the prosecution of this war. I hear it said that enough blood has been spilt already; that we ought to stop it; that this war ought to cease. I hear of men making speeches around through the country, and appealing to the women and children to know if this war has not gone on long enough, and if it ought not to be stopped before any more blood is shed. They appeal to the old gray-headed men, and they say you have lost your brothers and sons and grandsons. The soil is wet with their blood. It is a bloody war, an unnatural war; hence let us stop it. Fellow-citizens, it is true that many a brave man has been lost. We have lost many a brave soldier. Perry county has buried many of her cherished sons. On the soil of the South we have buried many more, who there sleep the sleep that knows no waking. But we have buried them with honor. They have died like true patriots and soldiers, shouting, "Let me die like a soldier of the Union." I would rather die like a soldier than live like a traitor. [Applause.] They want to stop the war to prevent the further effusion of blood.

Fellow-citizens, this Government is a Government that we all love or once loved. We love the people, the country, the rivers, the rocks, the trees, everything in it. They are ours. It is our people, our rivers, our lakes, our shores, our rocks, our mountains, our rills, our hollows. It is our people, our Government, the best and brightest that ever existed on earth; and before I would see this war stop until the Government is restored in all its former power and supremacy, I would rather see the graves of ourselves, our sons and our brothers, mountains high. I would rather see carcasses sufficient to make bridges across the widest streams before this war should stop, until the true soldier of the Union could wave his saber in his strong right hand and cleave the head from every traitor in the land. [Loud applause.] This Government is worth fighting for. It is worth generations and centuries of war. It is worth the lives of the best and noblest men in the land, and may they all be sacrificed before the war shall stop and leave an armed traitor in the land. [Applause.] We will fight for this Government for the sake of ourselves and our children. Our little ones shall read in history of the men who stood by the Government in its dark and gloomy hours, and it shall be the proud boast of many that their fathers died in this glorious struggle for American liberty. [Applause.]

PEACE MEN.

But we find other objections, too. Many say, well, we are for the Government, it is true, but we are for peace; we are for the Union, but we are opposed to the war. Well, I suppose we are all for peace. I know I am. Some people call themselves peace men. Great God, fellow-citizens, we are all peace men. Is there a man here that is not for peace? Not at all. But how are you for it? Do these gentlemen tell you how they are for peace? I want them to tell me; is it a dirty, cowardly peace, a disgraceful peace that divides our Government, or what sort of a peace is it? If I were a politician or a statesman, and if I were to get up before the community, and tell them I was for a thing, I would give them the reason for it. You hear peace speeches made very often. We are for peace, they say. I say so, too. I am for peace as much as any man can be. We will meet them half-way, and shake hands on this proposition. We are both for peace. But I will tell you what sort of a peace I am for. *I am not for a piece of a country!* [Applause.] I am for this sort of a peace: before this rebellion broke out, we had peace. Before the rebels raised armies to fight against our Government, we had peace. While the stars and stripes floated from Maine to California, and from the lakes in the North to the gulfs in the South, we had peace. While the same martial music was played in every town and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of the land, we had peace. While we had one army, one navy, one President, one United States, one people, we had peace. Then, I say, I am for the same kind of peace again, and, so help me God, I want no other kind. [Applause.] I am for the same country and the same Constitution. And I can tell these gentlemen how they can get peace to-morrow. You once were the State of Mississippi, belonging to the United States Government; so you were

once the State of Louisiana ; so of all these seceded States. You raised the puny arm of rebellion. You mustered yourselves against the Government, and brought war and bloodshed. You did all these things. Now, lay down your arms, as rebels ought to do, pay obedience to the Government, again say that I owed allegiance to the Government of the United States once ; I owe it again. Walk back as a whipped child (as you are, and will be worse if you don't quit soon) to a fond indulgent parent, who loved you, and gave you nourishment. Now, my fellow-citizens, that is the kind of peace I am for. [Applause.] Now, these other gentlemen, who talk about peace, don't tell you what kind of a peace they want. Well, I can tell you. I don't want any man to understand by my argument that I am striking at any party, or any set of men. I only strike at individuals who are trying to ruin the country. If, however, the shoe fits any body, I can't help it. This is a free country. He can do as he pleases about it, I suppose. Now, let us see what sort of peace some men are for. Some men are in favor of peace, expecting to gain peace by stopping the "further offensive prosecution" of the war. They are opposed to the further offensive prosecution of the war. What does that mean? It means this: when we marched to Fort Henry, that was an offensive prosecution of the war; when we marched on Fort Donelson, that was an offensive prosecution of the war; when we marched on each and every battle-field, it was an offensive prosecution of the war. As long as we keep our armies in the Southern States, and make them recognize the Constitution of the United States, and the supremacy of the laws, it is an offensive prosecution of the war. If that is correct, I want to take the language I see reported in some of the speeches made on this subject, and sift it a little. Their argument is this: a further prosecution of the war is unconstitutional, therefore, we are for peace. They all declare that to be their position on this subject. We fought the battle of Thompson's Hills on the 1st of May, and whipped the rebels; that was an offensive prosecution of the war, and that was unconstitutional. When we fought them at Raymond, and whipped them, it was an offensive prosecution of the war. The battle of Jackson was an offensive prosecution of the war—it was very offensive to the rebels. [Laughter.] When we fought the battle of Black River, it was an offensive prosecution of the war. When we invested Vicksburg, it was an unconstitutional act, being an offensive prosecution of the war. When we took thirty-two thousand prisoners, we went beyond the limits of the Constitution very much indeed. That was the most offensive act of the war, and we ought to apologize to Jeff. for having done such a thing. [Applause.] According to these arguments, each battle we fought to open the Mississippi River was an unconstitutional fight. Was it unconstitutional to take Vicksburg? That was an offensive prosecution of the war. Then I want these gentlemen to tell me what they mean. They want us not to prosecute this war any further. We are to withdraw our armies from the South. We are to take them out of Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and all other States that they are now in, and cease to prosecute the war offensively any further. We are to say to the rebels, "now, gentlemen, we won't do anything further: we'll quit a while and see if you won't behave yourselves." They'll be certain to

do it, because they're that kind of men. Well, now, what will be the result of this? If we stop the active and offensive prosecution of the war, in three months they will have Columbus, Kentucky; the whole of Mississippi River, and all the territory that we have been driving them out of for the last two years. Now, is this the kind of peace we want? [Cries of "no," "no."] I want to know. These fellows, either mean that they are afraid to fight themselves, and they want to stop the war for fear they will have to fight, or else the war don't suit them, because it is whipping their friends, or they don't like to see blood for fear they will faint, or they are afraid of something, I can not tell what. The reason that I speak of these things is because I have heard of them. I have seen these arguments made in the papers, and I like to meet them. Such arguments ought to be met—ought to be refuted.

But, fellow-citizens, so far as that question is concerned, in reference to the right and the power of the Government to prosecute this war, no sensible man on earth, who is loyal to his country, will doubt for one single moment. If he is not a very loyal man, he will find all sorts of difficulties and objections that can be mustered up to try to stop the war in every possible way.

ABOUT CHICKEN STEALING.

If they can not succeed in doing this, nothing will satisfy them but they must engage in the mean, contemptible, villainous work of slandering our brave soldiers, for the purpose of detracting from their usefulness and doing injury to their cause. I believe there is one reason given through this country for stopping the war, and it is a beautiful reason, too, just like the fellows who advance it. They say that the soldiers steal chickens and hogs and cows and sheep, and that they burn houses and fences, and destroy property through the South. That is a horrible affair, really. It is dreadful to think of—this thing of stealing chickens and pigs. Well, I will tell you the truth about it. I want to talk about that to you. In the first place, these men who are talking about such things, never were in the army. They don't know anything about war. They never read the history of any war on top of earth, or, if they have, they have forgotten it. No man ever heard of an army marching through a country without committing depredations in it. Men can not all be controlled. These things will happen in spite of all the precautions that may be taken to prevent them. There are in the army, just as there are at home, men who will do wrong. Is there never a house burned in Illinois, never a hog or a horse stolen—never any robbery done at home? In the army as at home, there are good and bad, all sorts of men. Hence, we find that a great many things are done which we would rather were not done. But now I will tell you about this stealing. I know something about it. I suppose this is an offensive prosecution of war. Let us examine it for a moment. How did these gentlemen find out that this was going on? What do they know about it? They get the tales of some fellows who have run away in order to keep out of a fight, and who lie when they come home in order to cover up the real cause of their cowardly conduct. That is exactly the way it comes.

But do you ever hear them talk of Jeff. Davis' soldiers burning property? Do you ever hear of Jeff.'s men stealing any chickens, or hogs, or cows? Never. Well, I have known them to do it, and they beat us at it all the time. [Laughter.] I will tell you what we do. When I started from Grand Gulf, or Bruinsburg, with my division, we had but five days' rations. We marched to Jackson, fought two battles on the way, and when we got there, fought another, and fought two in returning to Vicksburg—making five battles before we got to Vicksburg, on five days' rations. We surrounded Vicksburg, and were there fully seven days. The boys had nothing to eat but two crackers a day, and a half ration of meat. I told them to take hogs, chickens and cows, and I'll do it again. [Applause.] And I will tell these gentlemen now, that whenever soldiers under me are hungry and barefooted, have got nothing to eat, and are fighting men in rebellion against this country, perhaps some of the friends of these growlers, whenever they are hungry, if I can find anything in the country for them to eat, they shall have it. [Applause.] I shall not hesitate a bit to take all I can find to feed my men. That is war—offensive war—if you like. No officer is worth a cent, or fit to be intrusted with the care and command of men, who won't do just the same thing. March through the Southern States, and follow the rebel army, if you don't believe these Confederate fellows will steal all they can lay their hands on. They have no commissary, and no commissary stores except what they get in the country. They take everything they come to. They live off of the country through which they march. They steal all the niggers they find, to keep them out of our hands. But we never hear of any of these things being done by the rebels. I suppose it is all right. They stripped the country in Mississippi to such an extent that we have to-day to feed citizens for sixty miles round Vicksburg. That is a positive fact. I issued rations before I left there to families living sixty miles from Vicksburg. They were robbed and plundered by Jeff. Davis' soldiers, left without a bit to eat, and I don't know what would have become of them if we hadn't taken Vicksburg. But yet we must bear all the blame. We find men even here at home who are willing to slander us, and call us thieves and robbers and plunderers, and at the same time nothing is said about these gentlemen on the other side. [Applause.] I suppose, these gentlemen who call us robbers and thieves, don't think for a moment that the rebel army is trying to rob them of their brightest heritage on earth—this Government. They don't think that the men we are fighting are trying to destroy them, bankrupt them, and make them a poor, impoverished people. They only think we are taking a few bites to eat from these poor rebels. Ah! it is very mortifying, indeed, to certain individuals, that such a thing should be done. [Laughter.]

So far, then, as this accusation is concerned, I have told you the truth about it. I have nothing to cover up in reference to the army—not a thing. My friends, I am proud of that army, as all loyal men are. [Applause.] But so far as discussing this question further in reference to this point is concerned, it is not necessary. I know that no man in this country, in his sober senses, when he comes to reflect, can be anything else but a lover of his country. At least he ought not to be. I

believe they all are if they will only reflect in reference to their interest and their duty. [Applause.] I feel this to be the case.

ABOUT ABOLITIONISM.

There is one other thing I want to say to you. It is this: I want to give the folks of this county an idea about it. They say John Logan, Billy, Jack, Bob, Tom, and all us chaps down in the army, are Abolitionists—regular straight-outs. Why are we Abolitionists? I want them to tell me how they know I am an Abolitionist. I have never made a speech until yesterday since the war commenced, except once, when I spoke a short time to get some recruits. I have never made a speech since I have been in the army of any kind that could be called a political speech. How do they know we are all Abolitionists? Did we tell them so? Did we say so? Why is it that they consider us all Abolitionists? Why, I will tell you the reason. It is because we are in the army and Abraham Lincoln is President. That is the reason. These men don't know enough, or don't want to know, that Abraham Lincoln, because he is President, don't own the Government. This is our Government. This war ain't fighting for Mr. Lincoln. It is fighting for the Union, for the Government. I suppose that when a man went to Mexico as a United States soldier it didn't make him an Abolitionist. If fighting under Abe Lincoln makes every one an Abolitionist, I suppose that fighting under Polk made everybody a Democrat. That may be true; but when they came home, if you recollect, they elected Gen. Taylor, who was a Whig. I don't care a cent what they call me. All I have to say to any man who calls me an Abolitionist is that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and that they can call me any name they please. If fighting for the union of these States, with the old flag over my head, fighting for our Government, against rebels and traitors, if that makes me an Abolitionist, all right. I only wish there was a million more of them than there are. [Applause.] If that makes a man an Abolitionist, let me warn these gentlemen that there will be a great many of them. If loving the Government of our fathers, revering the Constitution, fighting for the same Government and the same cause, is sufficient inducement to these men to call such names, let them do it. We have no objection. We don't care. We laugh at it. It is only fun for us to be called such names. We care nothing about it. We know that the country knows what we are doing, and God in heaven, who views the hearts of all men, knows we are honest and true to our country. Would to God these gentlemen could say the same! [Applause.] No, my friends, it makes a man a patriot, nothing more, nothing less, to fight for his country. It does not make him a Democrat, or a Republican, or an Abolitionist. Whenever this war is over this is a free country. If we want politics then we will have them. That's all. If we don't, nobody need get mad about it. They had better let us alone, and not call us nicknames before we get home. Let us alone until we get back, gentlemen, if you please. We will be the most peaceable and quiet men in the world. We will be perfectly well educated in all the fine arts and sciences and good manners. We will show these gentlemen some of the politeness we have

learned in the army. We will treat one another kindly and respectfully, and if we get a little mad about anything we will just settle it right there. [Laughter.] But I suppose folks are joking who say these things. They don't intend anything wrong. I do ask them to just let the boys alone and let the people alone. If they don't want to be for the Government, let people alone who are for it. If they do that there will be peace at home. We don't think it makes us Abolitionists to fight for our country. We don't think it makes us Abolitionists because niggers run away. Just here let me tell these gentlemen who talk so much about Abolitionists and nigger stealing, that all the prayers that can be sent up (it makes no difference, outside of proclamation or anything else), that machine is gone up, played out. It will never do a day's good again. [Applause.] There is no doubt of that, and the people of the North are not responsible. The Southern gentlemen have done it themselves. Nobody is responsible but themselves for the loss of their slaves. Let us say to these men now, who have such great sympathy for the people of the South, and are crying out against soldiers—I tell them that these men in the South lost more niggers in thirty days after the rebellion commenced than they would have lost in many years by all the Abolitionists in the United States. I told you that the army which was in front of us stole everything they could lay their hands on. The rebels steal every nigger they see and take them to some State where they think we are not likely to go. They are afraid the Yankees will steal them. These are positive facts. The rebel soldiers, men who never owned a nigger in their lives, steal them and run them off, and sell them for two or three hundred dollars apiece. They say that the institution is gone, and they don't think it will ever amount to anything again. They just want to be independent of us. That's all they are fighting for.

THE ARMY OUGHT TO BE INCREASED.

Now, fellow-citizens, I want to talk to you about something else. In talking about that, I want to encourage you, that you may enroll the names of all the men in this county under the Conscription Act, that we may increase our army. I can give you a reason for it. I believe to-day, I believe it honestly, that if the people of the North were united, and all stood upon one platform, as we do in the army, that this rebellion would be crushed in ninety days. Our platform is this: We are for our Government, right or wrong. We are for restoring that Government. We are not for the "Union as it was and the Constitution as it is." We are for the Union any how, any way we can get it; and get it we will in some shape or other. I want to show you the reason why more troops ought to be raised. If the people were united there would be no trouble about getting troops. There would be no trouble at home. We would have the sympathy of the whole people. The soldier would be cheered and comforted by knowing that he had the sympathy of the people at home. He would not be reflecting before going into battle that his neighbors at home thought he was doing wrong, and that he had not their sympathies. He would go to the field with a stouter and a braver heart if buoyed up with the assurance that his friends and neighbors

indorsed him in his course and wished him God speed. We can crush this rebellion. I know it. Why, we have marched a little army clear from Cairo to Vicksburg. Below, a small one has marched from New Orleans to Port Hudson. We have opened the Mississippi river. We have split the Confederacy in two, leaving on one side Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri—more territory than is on the eastern side. We have made a gulf that is impassable for them. We have cut them in two, separated them, one half from the other. We can hurl our strength upon one half and whip them, then upon the other and whip that. This idea that one of them is as good as five of us is pretty well played out. They are satisfied of that fact. They are pretty well satisfied that one Yankee is just as good as one gentleman from the South, and when they get into close quarters they think he is a little better. [Applause.] We have the men and the means to crush out the rebellion and restore the Union. All we want is the sympathy of the people. When they are crushed out I hope the President of the United States will have the nerve to say, "Jeff., come forth; you have forfeited your head by your treason to your country and it shall come off your shoulders." [Applause.] When that is done there will be no more treason in this country. There will be no more rebels in the United States, no more foul conspirators against the Government. Let us do that, and when we have done it we have another job before us. We see to-day that France is growling at the United States Government. We see that France, during a time when we were engaged in a civil war, took advantage of that and poured her troops into Mexico. She has captured it, and is about to establish an empire and place an emperor upon the throne. Because we had our divisions at home and could not attend to him, Napoleon did this. While he has gone into Mexico and taken possession there, he has got round on our right, round by Texas, where it is easy for him to invade the soil of the United States; easy to march his army into Texas and other Southern States and give assistance to the rebels. I pledge you my word, my countrymen, to-day, that Jeff. Davis and his pretended Government have asked and solicited Napoleon Bonaparte to come to their rescue and save them. They have promised to become subjects of France rather than be forced to be citizens of the United States Government. One of the officers of their army told me that their Minister was authorized to make the proposition, and that the high officials of the Confederate Government are in favor of it, and would do it before they would ever submit to the United States Government any more. But when you come to talk to the common people they say quite differently. When you catch the men who are forced to fight the battles of the South, they say, whenever it happens we are with you. It shows that there are men there who have not lost all their feeling for the old flag and the old Government; there are men there who love this Government. This is the truth.

I say, by the preparations that are being made in France, I am perfectly satisfied it is the intention to unite with the South, and attempt to coerce us into measures to recognize the independence of the South, and allow them to become a dependency of France. We ought to have an army to not only crush out the rebellion, but to take France by the head

and heels, and throttle her until she squeals. [Applause.] I don't know whether there are men in the North who would like to see France have a part of this country or not. But, for the reasons I have named, we ought to have this large army. I believe we have men enough in the field to whip the rebels, but we ought to have a large army. Whenever we have, you will see that the rebels will begin to lay down their guns. Toombs, Yancey and the leaders of the conspiracy will begin to make for some other country, for their own personal safety.

THE NORTHWESTERN CONFEDERACY.

But my friends, there is another side to this question, that many of you have not thought about. There is nobody wanting to arm men prospectively for a thing of that kind; but there is something else going on. Do you know, that at the time this rebellion broke out in the South, there was a regular organization to extend the rebellion a little further than the South. There were men at the time who were deep enough steeped in villainy, to at least consent that if the South succeeded in establishing her independence, then they would establish a Northwestern Confederacy, and unite with the South, if not as one Government, in sympathy and feeling, to arrange their commercial relations, so as to crush out a certain interest in another portion of the Government. Have you never heard men talk in this country about a Northwestern Confederacy? Have you never heard people say they believed it would be best to cut loose from the Yankee States? Have you never heard people say that we would have to cut loose, because the Yankees taxed us too much to send our produce to New York; that the imposition of the tariff was such that we could not stand it in the Northwest? Have you never heard that? If you have not, let me tell you about it. Let me tell you what it means. It means this: That they would—at least some of the leaders, for I don't think the masses of the people ever entered into such a thing, or ever would—if they could only hold out the inducement and could only make the people believe that these rebels could not be put down, and could keep the Mississippi River blocked up so that our produce could not get down the Mississippi; then if the rebellion succeeded, it would be very easy to convince the people of the Northwest of the necessity for a Northwestern Confederacy. The people of the South would have passed an act declaring the Mississippi River free to the Northwestern States, provided they would secede from the Yankee States. That would have been the programme. The opening of the Mississippi would be the inducement, and the high tariff that would have to be paid on produce by railroad to the East, would be such an inducement also, that it is possible the men of the Northwest would have been carried off into the vortex of ruin by such sophistry and such illusions. That was the programme. When the rebellion had succeeded in separating the North from the South, a howl would have gone out in the Northwestern States, started by this set of gentlemen—"let us cut loose from New England; we can not afford to send our produce in this way through that country, let us go South; the people of the South will open the great artery of the nation to us, if we will only cut loose from

the Yankees." With a certain candidate for Governor of Ohio, as leader of that faction, this would have been attempted in the Northwest, I am sure. I do not say that he was in any conspiracy, nothing of that kind, nor do I propose to name the names of anybody. I only name him because he would be a fit man, and would have accepted the leadership without the least remorse of conscience. When I was in Congress myself, a great many men talked to me and told me that we would be bound to establish a Northwestern Confederacy—that there was an absolute necessity for it; that we could not stand it any longer. I thought it was a joke. I could not believe there were such fools and fanatics living. But what I have heard from Southern men, what I have seen in Southern papers, and the conduct of certain men in the Northwest, has satisfied me that there was a perfect understanding in reference to this thing. Why is it that a proposition was made in Congress—not in our Congress, but in the so-called Congress of the Confederate States—why is it that a proposition was introduced there, saying to the Northwest that if they would only desist from the war, they would open the Mississippi River to the Northwest? That was done in the Confederate Congress. Some gentlemen in our country are in favor of it too; it only shows the programme that was laid down to be carried out. And these things are perfectly plain. If men will examine, they will see for themselves.

Now, I don't believe the masses are for any such thing. I do not believe Republicans, Democrats, or Abolitionists in this country are for any such thing, when they come to examine themselves and their consciences correctly, except certain men, who are ambitious and aspiring demagogues, who would be willing to lead the Government and the people anywhere, for the purpose of giving themselves a little character and promotion. I say to you people, weigh well the argument made to you by all men in such times as these—during the time that this war is going on. See that there is justice in the argument, that there is logic in it. See that it is sound, that it does not tend to the destruction of the Government, that you can see perfectly and plainly the prospect in it before you act. Do that, and you will get along much better [Applause.]

LINCOLN BASTILES

Some men in this country say that they have been incarcerated in—I forget the name they call the thing, but I believe it is Lincoln bastiles. I never heard of a Lincoln bastile before. They say this is a reign of terror. I have nothing to say about them, only this, if they were improperly put in the bastile, I am very sorry for it; if they were properly put there, I am very sorry they were not kept there. [Applause.] They ought to know whether they were put there rightfully or not. Whenever you hear a man get up and make a speech, and tell the crowd he is afraid he will be arrested by some Lincoln soldiers, you may be sure there is something wrong about him. If he is a good Union man, and talks Union talk, there is no danger of his being arrested. If he is for his Government, for his country, and shows it by his conversation, and

by his conduct, there is no danger of his being put in prison—not a particle, not a bit of it. I don't find any man in this country afraid of being put in jail, if he will make a good Union speech. What kind of a speech ought a man to make in this country? Does he want to make a Jeff. Davis speech? There are only two kinds of speeches for him to make—for the Government or against it. He can't be half way for the Union—no such thing as that. He is either a Union man or a traitor; he is for his Government or against it. He is either for treason or against it. He can't be for Jeff. Davis and the Union too. He can't be against the Union and against Jeff. Davis. He is either a Union man and for his country, or else he is a traitor to his country. There is no doubt about that. I want to know why it is that any man is afraid to make a speech in this country? I suppose Jeff. Davis would be afraid to make a speech here. I suppose Toombs and Yancey would n't care about doing it just now. That is as it ought to be. The people would have nerve enough to let the gentlemen dance a few jigs in the air, if they should make their appearance among them. [Applause.] I guess Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, would be afraid to make a speech here. Beauregard, too, would be afraid of being put in a Lincoln bastille, should he attempt to enlighten an audience here. I don't suppose any of those men would like to make a speech here. But if any man comes before this country and makes a speech for his Government, I don't care what he calls himself politically, so that he is a Union man, an honest man, and for his Government. If he calls himself Beelzebub, that don't make him Beelzebub, by any means. It makes no difference what his politics may be, if he is only for his Government, let him make a speech for it. If he is for the war, let him say so; no milk and cider talk about it; no use in finding objections by talking about stealing pigs and robbing hen-roosts. Let him say whether he is for the Government or against it. I heard about a man not long ago going to make a speech, in which he said that in this country a man dare not say what he thought. He was for the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was. [Laughter.] He wanted to inform them of that fact. He did not believe anybody else was for the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is. I am for just that thing. I believe I can satisfy you that you are all for it. It would have been the duty of that man, when he said he was for the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was, to have told you how he was for it. I will tell you how I am for it. I am for the Constitution, always was; I am trying to enforce it. I am trying to assist the Government in enforcing it as it is, not as it is not. I believe we have got but one Constitution. No courts have decided that we have acted unconstitutionally. We are, at least, attempting to enforce it as it was. But there are different constructions of the Constitution. I am willing for every person to have his own. When I take up the Constitution and read it, I find it reads so and so. I find it reads just the same now as it did before the war commenced. It has not been changed in any respect that I have heard of. If the Constitution is not changed, and we whip these rebels, and bring them back into the Union, we get the Constitution as it is. I suppose, if we get it that way, he is for it. If that satisfies him then, we are both satisfied. Then he wants

the Union as it was. So do I, and so do you. I want not only to have the United States extend to the Ohio River and the Potomac, but I want it to extend to the Gulf of Mexico, and to have in it all the territory it had before the war commenced. I want it just the way it was before they rebelled. I suppose every law that was just and applicable to the entire country before the rebellion, would not be after the rebellion. Laws have to be made according to the times and according to the interests and wants of the people. So it has always been done. But we must get the Government back just as it was, so far as territory is concerned. When we get the territory back, we will have the citizens back, and laws will be passed best adapted to their interest at the time they return. That will be the Constitution and the Union. I suppose that will be as much as anybody can want. [Applause.] If these men are so fond of the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was, that they want the Constitution in such condition that the Congress of the United States will not prohibit Jeff. Davis, Toombs and that crowd of traitors from holding seats in the Congress of the United States, so that they can again break up the Government, I am not for it. [Applause.] I am not for their holding seats in Congress again, in order to go into a conspiracy to break up the Government. The leaders in this great conspiracy should never again be permitted to have the same constitutional rights as they had before. [Applause.] If these gentlemen mean that they want them restored to the same rights, then I am not for it. They and I differ there. If they mean, that they are willing for these gentlemen in that part of the country to control this Government, to hold a lash over it as they have done heretofore, I am not for that either. [Applause.] I am for no such thing. I am for the Union as it was, and the Union as it is. When I say I am for the Union as it was, I mean that I am for all the territories that belong to the Government, bringing it all back, every foot of it, and governing it according to the wants of the people, and passing such laws as are best adapted to their condition. I can see through what these gentlemen mean. I know it exactly. By saying they are for the Union as it was, these men want to see the army run around all through the country and pick up stray niggers and return them to their masters. They want our boys in blue jackets to hunt the swamps, and hills, and hollows, for absconding darkeys. Now, for one, I beg to be excused. [Applause.] I will certainly have to beg off from such work as that. If they want that done, I have no objection, when the war is over, let them go down and engage in that business themselves. We will permit them to do it, but let them not ask us to do it, if they please. I know that is just the meaning of the "Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is," with these men. I say to these gentlemen this: These niggers have run away from these people, and they can just keep on running, and run till doomsday, so far as I am concerned. I did n't cause them to rebel, nor did I run any of their niggers off. If they want them they may catch them; but I can tell them that they'll have a happy time doing it. But I suppose they want them all restored; they want a law passed re-enslaving them; they want the army to turn nigger-hunters and slave-catchers. Well, now, when they lay down their guns and return back to the Government, let

them come before a United States Court, and let that United States Court decide whether they are entitled to this property. If the Court says they shall have it, I say all right. If the Court says no, then I say, "you can't come it, 'Squire." I don't know, but it seems to me that there is no country on earth that allows men to commit treason against its Government—allows them to commit such outrageous acts of treason as these men have committed—violate all the laws and the Constitution, and rebel against the Government, and then claim that the Government has no right to confiscate their property. There is not a Government on earth but would do it. [Applause.] Our Government ought not to hold back in this matter. History shows no example of such leniency. In some governments they would not only confiscate their property, but they never would exchange a single prisoner taken on the field of battle. They would hang every one of them for treason. Yes, and in some governments, they would have hung some of the leaders before any battle was fought. [Applause.] They would not have given the rebels a chance to assemble an army. Now, I say if their property is confiscated, let it be confiscated. If their niggers run off, let them run; clear the track for them. If they want them back again, let them go to the Courts. If they think we have violated the Constitution, let them come back to the Union and test the question before a proper tribunal. When they come back, they can go before the United States Courts of America and settle all their grievances, and we as good citizens will stand by the decisions of the Courts. [Applause.]

A FEW WORDS FOR THE SOLDIERS.

Now, fellow-citizens, I have detained you on all these points at as great length as I desire. This lengthy speaking in the open air will, I am afraid, do me a great deal of injury, from the way I feel. But I want to say a few words to you, in reference to our soldiers. I have no eulogies to pass, so far as I am concerned, upon their conduct, more than what that conduct shows itself entitled to. The country knows it; so far as the conduct of the soldiers of the United States is concerned, they know all about it. But I want to appeal to you in behalf of these men, that while they are traveling and marching about through the rebellious States almost naked, without food sometimes, in the burning sun and in the drenching storm, in the night and in the day—while they are sleeping upon the cold, wet ground; while they are suffering all the toils and privations of camp life, such as no other soldiers ever endured before; while they are doing that which they honestly believe to be their duty to themselves and their country, and to you as their countrymen, I want you, as citizens of a loyal country, as citizens of the noble State of Illinois, to at least extend to them your sympathy, to at least feel in common with them, that their cause is just, to at least think, if you can not alleviate their sufferings and lessen their privations in the field, that your feelings are with them. Say to them, "go on, boys, God bless you," and let the brave fellows know how you feel toward them. [Applause.] Let us have no more letters written from home to the boys who are in the field, grumbling and growling,

and telling them you wish the unholy war had never begun, and that you wish they were home, and all that sort of thing; for you only encourage them to desert the cause of their country. Let us have no more letters written to the army from parents, telling their children that if they come home, to come by a certain man's house, and he will tell them the best way to get where they can meet other deserters, and be protected. Let us have no more of this. Write to them in this way: say to them, "my son, as long as there is an armed rebel in the Government, as long as there is a traitor in arms against the United States, be true to the flag of your country; be true to the oath you took when you entered the army. Do your duty, and when your country needs you no longer in the field, come home, and we will welcome you with outstretched arms. If you die, my brave son, be buried as a faithful soldier, whose last act was in discharge of a patriot's duty. Let history render your name immortal as one of the gallant men who died that his country might live. [Applause.] Let your country be proud to inscribe your name upon its banners as one of the heroic dead. Let your prayer be that the American flag may be your winding sheet, while your spirit wings its way to the haven of rest, reserved for the brave soldiers of the American Union." [Applause.] Talk that way to your boys, to your husbands, to your friends, and you will hear such a shout of joy come up from the camps in the land of the foe, as will do your hearts good. Let the poor soldiers feel that in the performance of their arduous and fatiguing duties, they have comforts at home as well as cheers in the army. Let men reflect that the graves of these many boys—some seven or eight thousand that we lost in our campaign this summer, who were fighting for their country—only remember that their gaping wounds, while they lay weltering in their gore, like empty mouths, spoke out in thunder tones to their friends at home: "Dear friend and companion of mine, here, look at this bleeding gash that has been made by traitorous hands. Will you not avenge my blood? Will you not unfurl the banner of your country, and lift a single joyous anthem to the tune of this Union, while the shouts of victory are going up from each and every battle-field in the land? Will you not avenge the blood of your brothers or your sons, killed by men who are attempting to destroy our national existence? Swear that you will—that while there is a remnant of that battle-torn flag left, you will strike such blows as will assist my country in ridding the land of all its foes." You citizens of Perry and Franklin counties, who are assembled here to-day, let the words of dying Dollins,* and a dying Reese, † speak to you. Let the last words of the noble boys who fell as brave soldiers in the ranks, speak in thunder tones to you, in reference to your conduct in future. Listen to the words of Colonel Dollins, in the last agonies of death. He was a brave, true patriot as ever bled for his country's cause. When he was pierced by the leaden messenger of death, he sank back and said: "Boys, go

* Col. Dollins commanded the 31st Illinois Regiment. He was killed in the assault on the works of Vicksburg on the 22d of May.

† Lieutenant-Colonel Reese commanded the 31st Illinois, in the absence of Colonel M'Cook. He was killed during an assault on Fort Hill, about the 1st of July.

on, let me see the flag of my country planted on the enemy's ramparts." The brave Reese said: "Tell Logan to tell the people at home that I died an honest man, and a brave soldier." So help me God, I will tell them as long as I live, that he died an honest man, and a brave soldier. [Applause.] My countrymen, do not the words of such men as that speak to you with a voice that can not be misinterpreted? They died because of traitorous hands. They died because of a rebellion against the best government on earth. They died because they were patriots, and loved their country and their friends—loved peace, harmony and good will. They died for that reason only; and when in their graves, and a little board is put at their heads to mark the spot where they sleep the sleep of the fallen brave, you find inscribed upon it: "This man died at the battle of so and so: a loyal man, a true Union soldier, fighting under the flag of his country." [Applause.] Can Jeff. Davis have such a history written on the head-board of his grave? Can it be said he died a patriot and a lover of his country? No. But, in a few brief words, his history may be written on the head-board that will mark the grave where he will lie: "A traitor sleeps here!" This is the difference that there is between a patriot and the men who are at war against the Government. If you could only have seen the daring deeds performed by some of your sons and friends, you would never be heard again to utter a sentence against the cause they are engaged in. It would not do for me to attempt to describe them. The most magnificently grand history that can be written of the daring deeds of many men, is written on the flag that has been sent to Perry county by the Colonel of the old 31st Regiment. It was planted upon the bulwarks and ramparts of Vicksburg. The staff was cut down three times, and three times was put together again. One hundred and six-three bullet-holes through a flag is the grandest history of heroic deeds that can be written or made by any set of men. [Applause.] Let all look at that flag. These men, however, have not excelled others. There are men who have done just as daring deeds. In fact, all have performed the same kind of heroic actions. They have all won for themselves a name as brave, good, faithful and true soldiers of the Union. They are united in a common cause, heart and hand; they are truly a band of brothers. That little army is indeed a band of brothers. They live together, they love one another, they fight for one another, and they would die for one another. All they ask on earth is, that when they die they may be buried side by side one another. [Applause.]

My fellow-citizens, when I told you to-day that I did not intend to make a political speech, that I was no politician now, and would belong to no political party until this war is over, I meant just what I said—I am only for the Union, right or wrong. I can give you good reasons for it. I was once a politician, but I have learned in the army the best lesson I ever learned in the world. When I was a politician I denounced men and they denounced me; but in the army I have learned this lesson. I have stood for hours under the hottest fire, where bullets were flying like hail and cannon balls were whizzing past my head every moment. I have seen the Republican stand by my side and the Democrat and the Abolitionist. I have seen the Democrat shot down and

buried in the same grave with the Republican, and the Abolitionist in the same. They are all fighting for the same country, the same ground, the same Constitution. [Applause.] It gave me pleasure to know that these were patriots. I have men in my division to-day who once belonged to each and every political organization. But to stand here to-day and denounce one of these boys because he belonged to any particular political organization, I would rather have my right arm cut from my body, and my body buried where no man on earth could find it. [Applause.] I don't mean by what I say that each and every man is loyal, but I do mean that there are loyal men in all parties, and that when he is properly instructed, no man will be ashamed to own his country. [Applause.] My heavens, has it come to this, that any man in the United States Government is ashamed to own the American flag? Has it come to this, that any man in the loyal States will yell for Jeff. Davis? Has it come to this, that our flag can be called a dirty old rag, as has been done? Have these men forgotten the blood of the Revolution? the glories of the American people? the proud name of the United States? Have they forgotten what the stars and stripes are emblematic of? Have they forgotten the proud position our Government has occupied among the nations of the earth? Have they forgotten the high state of religion in our country? the high state of civilization that exists in our Government? Have they forgotten all these things? Have they forgotten that it towered once high up almost to the heavens, as a shining light for all Governments to gaze upon and take lessons from?—to be instructed that the people were capable of self-government—that they had the ability not only to govern themselves, but to establish the best Government on earth? People of foreign countries may say to us—well may they say it—the tree of liberty has been planted on American soil, and if the Government only lasts, its branches will spread and it will bear fruit which will be plucked by every human being, until each and all shall have tasted the sweets of liberty, and shall sing some joyous song that they, too, are a free and independent Government, ruled by no kings, monarchs, autocrats, emperors or czars. Have they forgotten all this? I know you have not. You are not going to forget your first love. You will love your country in its hour of peril and danger as you have loved it heretofore. You will assist your country. I believe you are willing to do it, and that you will do it. If you do it now we will again have the same proud, magnificent, grand structure, that we had before. We will again have that bright, shining Government we once had. You will again see borne upon the bosom of the Mississippi river the mighty products of the great Northwest, hunting a market where the producer will be remunerated for his toil and labor. You will again see the great railroads running from the North to the South, from the East to the West. You will again see our mighty ocean steamers bearing the commerce of the world upon the ocean, without molestation by robbers and pirates upon the high seas. You will again see the world enjoying peace, repose, happiness and prosperity. You will again see everything move on as harmoniously as before. [Applause.] Again there will be peace and joy throughout the land. I believe all desire that. Then, to obtain it, this rebellion must be crushed out. When it is crushed out,

this happy state of things will exist that has been destroyed. Until it is, it will not.

Do you, ladies, who have husbands in the army, only recollect that there were widows in the days of the Revolution, when our Government was established? Remember that your husbands are fighting in a glorious cause. When you write to them tell them to persevere in it, to go on in the good work, and God bless them in it. You, young ladies, who have sweethearts in the army, write to them words of encouragement to fight for their country. If you have sweethearts at home, tell them to go to the army or you will not marry them. Tell them you won't marry a man who is afraid to fight under the stars and stripes, but will reserve yourself for one of Uncle Sam's brave boys when the war is ended. [Applause.] Do these things. Show that you are patriotic wives, mothers and lovers. When you do this you are performing the duty that you owe to your country. You do your duty by encouraging us to do ours. You do your duty to the world, your country, your family and your friends.

ABOUT DESERTERS.

When a deserter comes to your house, say to him, "Sir, we keep no place for deserters. We have no food to give deserters. Go back to the army, and stay there like a man and a soldier." Give them no encouragement. Let them know, when they come home, they come home disgraced. Instead of saying to them, "O, you brave fellows, I am glad you have quit fighting in this abolition war; go into the woods and hollows, we will bring you provisions in the night. We will go to town and ask 'Squire somebody what will be done with you if you go back.'" Tell them to go back to the army and do their duty. I was asked to-day, "If some boys would be punished if they went back to the army?" I said, "You tell them to go back, and then ask questions afterward. Tell them to go back, and they will find out what will be done with them. Let them go back and fight for their country, and beg pardon for what they have done, and show their willingness to restore themselves to honor and credit by fighting faithfully in the future. Give them no encouragement to remain among you." When these gentlemen think enough have run away to resist arrests, I tell them it is a sore undertaking. This thing of mob law is played out. [Applause.] I know it has been said that I threatened to come here and slaughter everybody. I never intimated anything of the kind. Never thought of such a thing. You have sheriffs here in this county, and if they are such infamous spaniels as not to do their duty, we will send some person here who will do it. If they won't do it, you let us know it. Men can be sent who will do it. [Applause.] I can send men who will arrest deserters. I won't send a regiment, nor a company. I will just send one man, and he will come up here and take the fellows by the throat, and walk them back where they belong. And I would like to see any gentleman prevent him. [Applause.] I have no sympathy for these men—none in the world. If they come back to me and do their duty well, it is all right. But while they are sneaking and scheming in the woods, to hide themselves from

every honest man, they are deserters only, and the man who feeds them or encourages them is a traitor of his country. If you feed and encourage deserters, you help to destroy our army, and by destroying our army, you assist the rebellion. If a man can not assist the rebellion by being a traitor, I would like to see the thing you do it with. [Applause.]

I deceive no one. I give my opinions freely and frankly, and I talk plainly. I think it is necessary to say just what I have said about these men who are scheming and skulking from the army. I hav 'nt heard of any of them being shot. Have you? Do they show many wounds, many marks, many scars? They hav n't run away because it was an abolition war? That is not the reason. There is a better reason than that, yet. But when they come back to the army they generally make pretty good soldiers, and I will tell you why. The other boys make them do it. They are surrounded by men who will taunt them by calling them deserters every day, unless they do their duty properly. They fight very well, too. I have seen men who deserted, and stayed away three months, fight very well.

I will tell you what is the fact. I have seen boys around who came home with furloughs in their pockets. They feel proud of them. They are soldiers, and they had permission to come home. They know they are soldiers, and they are proud to have anybody know where they belong. They come home like honorable men. Did you ever see any of these other fellows sneaking around? There is a great difference in the way they act. The true soldier, when he comes home, feels proud of himself; he feels that he is a true soldier. But if he comes home by running away, he feels as if every bush that cracked behind him was a sergeant or a corporal cocking a pistol, ready to arrest him. I am satisfied of one thing. If they do not go back, when the history of this war is written and they send to Washington City an application for a land warrant and extra pay, they will find a little statement opposite their names, "deserted on the 19th day of such a month, at the battle of some place or other," and the application will be respectfully returned to the gentleman for further consideration.

Now you all know how these things are, and how the army is affected by it. We all know that. Not only General Grant's army, but the army of General Rosecrans, and the army of the Potomac. It has been affected by letters written from home by persons who are not loyal themselves; by men who have given protection to deserters. They have written to their friends that the army is breaking up, and that the rebellion is bound to succeed. They say that the soldiers are all leaving.

THE VICKSBURG SURRENDER.

The army is injured by these reports. Yet, while it has been injured by these false statements, it went proudly on conquering and to conquer, until to-day the proud army of Jeff. Davis, in the south-west, is scattered to the winds. It has skedaddled, run away, gone home, left, quit, disbanded. An army of sixty-nine thousand has been dispersed, killed, wounded, captured, in less than three months by a little band headed by Unconditional Surrender Grant, United States Grant, or whatever else

the country calls him. I will tell you what I call him. I think he is a man of more military genius to-day than any other man in the United States. [Applause.] This proud army of Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Joe Johnson has been dispersed, captured, kicked, cuffed, run out of the country. We had to loan them some bread and meat to travel on. [Applause.] Objections have been made to the manner in which we treated the Vicksburg prisoners. People say we ought to have sent them up here as prisoners of war. We sent about nine thousand up. We had thirty-one thousand more. We thought if we sent them up here and kept them, and fed them for a while, they would be all well drilled, fat and hearty, and the generals would just march the whole army out as soon as they were exchanged. General Grant thought he would parole them and send them out without any arms. When they got out they declared their independence. Secession is fashionable, said they, so they bid their officers good-by. They seceded for the reason that they were tired of the thing. They just quit and went home. I would like to see Jeff. collect that army together again, by a proclamation, or anything else. He will have to send to Missouri, to Texas, to Louisiana, and even to Chicago, for I met citizens of Chicago there. There were quite a number from Southern Illinois. I found several. They looked well. They were finely dressed. They looked as if they were *corn-fed!* They were beautiful specimens. [Laughter.] They all came and asked to be sent home. We told them, "we didn't send you down here and we don't propose to send you back. We treat you just as we treat other rebels. You must do the best you can for yourselves now."

Since General Grant started from Cairo he has taken eighty-one thousand prisoners. He has fought thirteen battles, and never been whipped in a single one. Many times he had a larger army against him than his own. But he always whipped them; and yet people will get up and tell you the Southern people can't be whipped. [Applause.]

CONCLUDING ADVICE.

In conclusion, let me give you this advice. Quit your quarreling. Be for your Government, in spite of what anybody may say. Swear that you are for your country any how, in spite of what anybody may say, and prove your faith by your works. Do the work. Assist the soldier, help him; don't support and sustain deserters. Be glad to meet a soldier, because he is a soldier. Be proud that you have a friend in the army that is a soldier. If you can not fight, you can work. You can show by your action that you are for your country. When these gentlemen get to talking and saying, "I am for the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is; I am for the Union, but then I must have it constitutionally;" that is to say, they are for setting down quietly and telling the Government to go to thunder,—they will do nothing to save it,—you just tell them this: "Say, 'Squire, I am for the Union right or wrong." See if they will say as much. He will say, "I am for the Union, but I must have the Constitution." Then put another question to him. Tell him you are for the success of the United States army and navy, no matter who is President—no matter what men are in the Cabi-

net, or who are in the majority in Congress? Ask him this question. Tell him you are for the Union—you are not for any man who is not for it; you are a friend to the men who are for the Union, and a foe to those who are not for it. You will make a good Union man out of him if you can make him consent to these propositions, and if he will act accordingly. If he won't, then his Unionism is not worth the snap of your finger. [Applause.] I have said to you all that I desire to say. I have made no speeches since this war commenced, and I hope you will excuse me for the desultory manner in which I have spoken to you. What I have said I have said bluntly. What I have said I feel. Consider whether the advice I have given is good or bad. If it is good, act on it. Be for your country all the time, and I will assure you that you need not be afraid of hobgoblins after night. Provost Marshals won't hurt you. You will be perfectly safe from Provost Marshals and everything of the kind, and in no danger of getting into trouble. Then if this is true, and you can get along smoothly that way, be for your country. Let traitors know that you know who and what they are. I thank you kindly for your attention. [Applause and cheers for General Logan.]

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